

Leicester, Mass<sup>ts</sup>, Sept. 13 '64.

Dear friend Webb,

Coming from Boston last Friday, I met in the streets of Worcester your friend Mr. Hammond (the ex Consul at Dublin,) and he told me that 'he had, at last, collected the money due you on bill of books, &c. and, if I were to remain in town awhile, he would get it & bring it to me'. I said I should be in town again in a day or two, was then waiting for our Leicester Coach, & did not like to leave the Coach-office as I might lose my seat. He said he would immediately get it, & w<sup>d</sup> bring it to the Coach office, - & did so, making apologies for the long delay. He said he had been ashamed to write to you because of this seeming negligence, but intimated that he should soon write now. He was looking very well, and was soon to return to New York city, where he has pitched his tent at present. So I have now in hand for you Two Pounds, Two Shillings, Sterling, in British gold & silver. You will therefore please pay yourselves out of any moneys on our acc<sup>t</sup>. wh. may be in y<sup>r</sup>. hands, & advise me on what acc<sup>t</sup>. I shall pay the like sum here. I shall sell the gold, &c. on my first going to Boston, & credit you in account with £2.2.0. I enclose bill of R. S. W. Son for said books, which - to do matters up in 'business shape' - you can receipt & return to me, when next you favour me with a letter; and I hope you will not allow a long interval to elapse between receiving & replying to this.

On the 23<sup>d</sup>. August I mailed to you a somewhat minute statement in reply to your request for your friend Dr. Hancock. I hope it came safely & seasonably to hand. I spent (with much pleasure) quite a number of hours over it, in getting dates, census returns, &c. as correct as might be; and even then, found afterward that I had omitted some items of Congregational & Govt. action which should have been included. On the whole, however, it was pretty full, and perhaps needlessly minute. Better so, than to be random



or loose, in such a case, however. If you happen to know whether any use is made of the paper, on the occasion to which you refer, (and which comes off, I think I have seen, some time this month,) I shall be obliged to you to let me know it.

While on money & business matter, let me say a word or two on the last invoice of the 'Life of John Brown' you sent to me. The matter stands thus. I received 74 copies, and I have sold 31 copies, receiving One dollar each, except that, in the case of several copies sent by mail, I prepaid the postage, according to an offer I made soon after receiving the books. Since the early part of this year I have taken no pains at all to sell any (and have sold but a few) - on acct. of the depression of our currency. I have felt that a dollar, now, would be no adequate payment for the book, & have hesitated about raising the price; - so it stands. - I should say, there are about a dozen copies, in different hands, from which I have yet no returns, but which will not return more than \$1. each, if sold. - I should be glad of any advice or instructions from you as to the remaining books. I am not willing to sell them now at \$1. each, without your consent; and indeed would advise raising the price, tho' I might not obtain ~~the~~ a sale for them. Meantime I have \$30. in my hands belonging to you, on the books. To transmit it now, instead of giving you about £6., would give less than £3. And besides there were some expenses, which I have not deducted. I hope our currency will soon improve, so that I can pay you something nearer an equivalent. But the \$30. are ready for you whenever you choose to call for them. The amt. lies awaiting any decision you please to make.

Your last to me (wh. enclosed Dr. Hancock's note) was of July 26. Since then, political affairs here, military also, have very much improved, at least in the eyes of all loyal people. How they look to European observers, I cannot say. Many of them are fully determined not to see anything favorable to the North, or to the Union, in any event, if they can possibly help it; and



at any rate not to admit it, so long as the contest goes on, if they do see it. It is curious, & has become ludicrous, to see how, in certain papers & quarters in England & France, every trivial & temporary advantage gained by The Confederacy is made a text for a solemn, long-faced discourse to all & several on the hopelessness of our War to overcome the Rebellion, and how the successes of our arms, the greater as the smaller, are alike dismissed as of small account. On the other hand are other journals & men, who seem to see the whole question, its morale and its whole bearing, and the actual posture of affairs here as clearly & accurately as any American. I feel particularly sorry for the cloud and fog (as it looks to me) which have come over Prof. Newman, as to the fact of advance, or the reverse, in our Govt. & People, about Slavery. I was enthusiastic in my admiration of Prof. N. and always spoke of him as, in my judgment, leading almost all other Englishmen in intelligent perception, & honourable courage, in regard to the American War. I considered his letter to Mr. Gladstone decidedly the best English word on our affairs, wh. up to that time had been uttered. And now I feel the same respect and honour for him that I ever did. I am sure he is as conscientious, honest, & disinterested, in his present desponding and offended state towards us. I do not think I impugn his independence of judgment either, when I ascribe the change in his mind quite as much to the nice pant-gloss, and one-sided interpretation, put upon the facts of our national affairs by his friend Conway, as to the facts themselves. I think the Administration of Mr. Lincoln may stand a comparison, not merely with any preceding American administration, but with any government of any nation of Europe, past or present, as to the general spirit of its acts or as to their details, even to the smallest, - as to its policy, and as to its objects and purposes, - and not suffer in



the comparison. Let the same rules be regarded in judging the one, as the others, — and that is not an ~~unfair~~ demand, — and I have no fears of the verdict Mr. Lincoln, if not having Scylla on one hand & Charybdis on the other, was compelled to navigate ~~not~~ <sup>no</sup> smooth sea, in friendly & safe waters, but a sea which, in addition to many natural & inevitable perils (arising from our Constitution, & the obligations of his office, and the poison <sup>on the popular mind</sup> effects of a long course of deference and concession to the Slave Power), was everywhere obstructed & made dangerous by the infernal machinations of the North allies and helpers of the Rebellion. No policy could have suppressed or silenced them. They are numerous, desperate, and absolutely without honour, shame, or principle. They are crafty too, and skilled to blind & mislead the people. Even the moderate, cautious, & evidently necessary anti-slavery measures of Mr. Lincoln have been perverted by them, and used, with every base & lying construction which could be attached to them, to exasperate & alienate the minds of the so-called "Democrats" of the North, already hating "the nigger" for his colour; & a <sup>somewhat</sup> better class too, who have deluded themselves with the nonsense that these Slaveholding Rebels yet have Constitutional rights, which we, in this war, must not trench upon! Did not the Rebellion make war on that Constitution? pronouncing it inadequate and a failure? Did not the Secession pronounce their own Separation, as States, from the Union formed under that Constitution, and repudiate it for themselves? Under that Constitution, the Seceding States have no rights or claims whatever. — But I think these Northern Copperheads have



about gone the length of their rope, - that the majority of the people understand them, and will not be misled by them. But if Mr. Lincoln had proceeded in his antislavery measures more abruptly, or rapidly, - though being just as clear in his own mind as to the necessity of them, - it would have alarmed & excited a large body of the people, who never would have been persuaded to lay a strong hand upon Slavery, until the proofs of its utter antagonism to our System & Structure of Government, and the impossibility of ever restoring, or having, a Union, with Slavery as an element in it, had accumulated to a degree which rendered them irresistible. Remember that it was not enough (as in a Monarchical Govt.) that the Chief Magistrate and his Cabinet and Advisers <sup>should be</sup> ~~were~~ satisfied as to the justice or even need of a great change of government policy, - not enough even that a majority of the Representative legislative bodies should be so satisfied; - in a government like ours, it was necessary ~~and~~ that its policy should be able to meet not the closest judicial scrutiny only but also the most captious and ~~and~~ plausible objections <sup>of its enemies</sup>, without ~~any~~ any needless risk of being set aside. So it has happened that Mr. Lincoln has been as much too slow for Mr. Conway, Prof. Newman, Wendell Phillips, &c. as he has been too fast for a very great body of Northern "Democrats" and - to their shame be it spoken - many Republicans also; ~~as~~ <sup>culpably</sup> pro Slavery in the eyes of the former, most culpably and "unconstitutionally" anti-slavery in the eyes of the latter. Nevertheless, in spite of all criticism, impatient or hostile, there stands the Record - such a record of progressive steps, of the most comprehensive, thorough, & vital nature, <sup>in three years</sup> as no Nation known to History, it may safely be said, ever made in a like space. - You will see, ~~it~~ copied into the Liberator of last week (Sept. 9<sup>th</sup>), 3<sup>rd</sup> page, Mr. Lincoln's views of the (Chicago) Democratic policy, as given in a conversation with Judge Mills of Wisconsin. Please read that attentively, if you have not. I wish it had circulation in



G. Britain. -

Goldwin Smith, as you may know, is now in this Country. I have not yet seen him. His views of our Affairs seem to me eminently sound & just. He spoke very ably & sensibly, lately, at Brown University in Rhode Island, as reported in some of the papers. I hope he may fall in with Garrison, Gerrit Smith, & others of our Abolitionists. Just now, & for nearly 2 weeks past, Garrison has been absent - visiting with his daughter Fanny Gerrit Smith & family at Peterboro' N. Y., my cousin's family (S. J. M.) at Syracuse, & thence going to Auburn, to be present at the marriage of his second son (W. L. G. Jr.) to Miss Ella Wright, a niece of Lucretia Mott; - no connexion whatever, I believe, of Henry C. W. The young folks are to make home with Mr. & Mrs. Garrison for this winter at least. Which reminds me that Mr. & Mrs. G. have left their house in Boston, offering it for sale, & have bought one about two miles farther out from the Boston centre of business, viz. in Roxbury, - whence is easy & constant communication with the city by the Horse Railroad. Mrs. Garrison, if really gaining at all, gains very slowly indeed. Her left arm & hand are quite helpless, & have very little action. Her mind is quite clear, & she is (I believe) very cheerful; but wholly unable to take any part in domestic affairs. Fanny Garrison, who is a very efficient & bright girl, and a very great favourite with all who know her, is the house-keeper. Her new sister (Wm.'s wife) will be a great acquisition to the family, and doubtless a great helper in its affairs. - Geo. Thompson seems to hold his own remarkably well, - is frequently attending meetings, writes somewhat (as you may notice) for the Liberator, &c. His reception in this Country now stands in a striking contrast with that he twice before experienced; and in itself conclusive proof of a mighty change, on the subject of slavery, in the public sentiment of our "leading men," & of the Country at large. Think of his receiving a degree



of L.L.D. from the principal Methodist College in the United States; and of his being publicly received and welcomed at two other Colleges, - both of them "Orthodox", & "Conservative" So-called, vizt. at Amherst, and Williamstown, in this State. This previous reception in all our principal cities, including Washington, is not more remarkable than at these Colleges, - perhaps less conclusive, as evidence of a radical change.

You will have seen the nominations of the long-anticipated Democratic Convention at Chicago, and their 5 Resolutions, - noting both what they do say, and what (in view of the Rebellion & the War it has caused) they do not say. The mail which takes this will also convey Gen. McClellan's letter of acceptance, and his reticence, in regard to the leading ideas of that platform, is also noticeable. So marked is it that already some of the strong pillars of the "Peace Democracy" ["Peace"! lucis a non lucendo - the "peace" party, because their measures would entail upon us perpetual disputes, divisions, & war!] have bolted from his nomination, & refused to support him. It is rumoured even that Vallandigham, the most shameless & brazen of all the Northern "Rebels" (he is no hypocrite however), and the man who moved in the Chicago Convention, to make McClellan's nom<sup>n</sup>. unanimous, has refused to advocate McC. since his letter of acceptance appeared. That however I put little dependence upon. V. knew his man before he made that motion, I doubt not; and the very non-committal character of McC.'s letter shows that he is quite ready for any policy, or no policy, whereby the present Government may be overthrown. But, at all events, it seems pretty certain that there is already considerable division in the 'Democratic' ranks, and, I think, a reasonable certainty of much more. I pray that their hopes may be disappointed, their plans frustrated, their counsels divided and brought to naught. Am I not justified in so asking of the Almighty Ruler of human affairs?



I endeavour not to be fanatical, or one-sided. But, using my best judgment & calmest reason, I conclude it my duty to both "work & pray" to this end; - for I believe this Northern 'Democratic' association (or party) nothing but a wing of the Rebellion, whose Aim, Motive, & End are all told in one word - Slavery; - the imbruting and destroying of Millions of the Children of God.

As to Gen. Fremont & his Party, they are "nowhere", apparently. Foolishly & madly expectant of a nomination, or of a chance of one at least, from the Chicago Convention, they were not so much as mentioned there! I had always said that Fremont had not the ghost of a chance of being nominated at Chicago. It turned out literally so. Instead of making many new friends by his recent course, he has lost a great many old ones; and, in my opinion, can never recover respect and confidence again, sufficient to give him any prominence in our public affairs. His wife is, I believe, the real Engineer of all the movements for his advancement - is understood to be a very ambitious woman, for herself as for him, and has great power over all with whom she comes in contact.

- I was particular in writing about the Enlisting on British soil, because you expressed yourself that it was "probably so", - and, as it is a very vital point, and I felt sure it was not so, I deemed it my duty to state the facts fully, as I believed them to be. The subsequent talk in Parliament seems to have fully established it that our Govt. had nothing to do with the matter, - that it was wholly a private enterprise & speculation, what little was done.

- Have you seen F. Milner Edge's pamphlet on the "Alabama & Rearrange"? Did not that, to your mind, establish pretty fully the complicity of the <sup>(or Captain)</sup> Owner of the Yacht "Greyhound" with Semmes? Could anything well be more clear?

Both my sons are now in the Country's service. Edward is called into the Navy Department at Washington, temporarily, for service there. He is hard at work, & pretty well, - made us a nice visit at home, while settling up his Mississippi River accounts. - Russell (not quite 20) enlisted in the Mass<sup>t</sup>. 42<sup>d</sup> Regiment, for a hundred days' service in defence of the National

Capital, at the time that Davis' forces needed it. He is stationed near Alexandria - about 6 ms. from Washington. See last 4/11, 2/6 May 2.